

THE
Interest of *ENGLAND*,
As it stands with Relation to the
Trade of *IRELAND*,
CONSIDERED;

The ARGUMENTS against the BILL,
for Prohibiting the Exportation of
Woollen Manufactures from *Ireland*
to Forreign Parts,

FAIRLY DISCUSST,

And the Reasonableness and Necessity of *Englands*
restraining her Colonies in all Matters of Trade,
that may be prejudicial to her own Commerce,

CLEARLY DEMONSTRATED.

With short Remarques on a Book, Entituled, *Some*
Thoughts on the BILL depending before the Right Ho-
nourable the House of Lords, for Prohibiting the Expor-
tation of the Woollen Manufactures of Ireland to For-
reign Parts.

L O N D O N,

Printed by *John Atwood*, at his Printing-House behind
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side of the *Royal Exchange*. 1698.

THE
LAW OF THE

Trade of WARE AND
CONSIDERED

The Agreement against the Bill
for prohibiting the Exportation of
Woolen Manufactures from Ireland
to Foreign Parts

FAIRLY DISCUSSED

And the Reasons of the same
are fully and clearly
explained in the following

CLERICAL DEMONSTRATION

By JAMES W. ...
of the ...
in the ...
of the ...

LONDON

Printed and Sold by ...
at the ...
of the ...

To the Most Honourable,

J O H N,

Marquess of Normanby, &c.

My Lord,

I Happened to come into the House of Lords at the time when your Lordships were Hearing Council against the Bill, for the Prohibiting the Exportation of Woollen Manufactures from *Ireland* to Foreign Parts; and altho' I was of the Opinion, that the Interest of *England* was so nearly concern'd in that Matter, as that it would appear at first sight to all disinterested Persons, that there was an absolute Necessity of putting a stop to the growth of such a Manufactory there, which must in its Natural Consequences ravish from us our Principal Trade, anticipate and divert the Source of our Wealth and Power, and by easie and (at first) imperceptible degrees, exhaust the very Life and Soul of *England*, by drawing away the Working People and Trading Stock: Yet when I came to Observe, that even the Committing the Bill did admit of a long arguing in your Honourable House, and was not carried without much Opposition, it brought me to Consider, that how clear soever it may seem to Men that have been conversant in the Practice of Trade, yet it must be a Matter of great Difficulty for your Lordships to determine in such things, where the Judgment is directed from Information

on ~~only~~, since those Informations are generally given with the greatest partiality : And I know by my own Experience, that any Impressions receiv'd from Persons for whom we have some Favour or Compassion, are apt to create so strong a prejudging of the Case, that we cannot so easily discern the reasonableness of the contrary Arguments, or suffer our selves to be Convinc'd without the clearest Demonstrations possible. 'Tis therefore, because I have thought the Well-being of my Countrey to depend very much upon this Case, and that I believe it capable of so plain a Demonstration, that I have thought it my Duty to endeavour to set this Controversie in so true a Light, as that it might not be difficult for your Lordships to make a right Judgment therein.

I have indeed been so far from concerning my self in this Matter hitherto, as that I have not so much as seen the Bill, and therefore I shall not pretend to meddle with the Methods taken therein ; my Design being only to shew the Necessity there is upon us to stop the progress of such Manufacturys in *Ireland*, which directly interfere with those of *England* ; to evince which, I shall offer a few Propositions, which I take to be so evident, as that they will admit of no Controversie.

1. That *England* hath no other means of procuring Riches, than by vending a greater Value of her Commodities in Forreign Markets, than what she expends in Merchandizes imported from abroad.

2. That the far greater Value of the Exportations of *England* arises from her Woollen Manufactures.

3. That *England* hath always been able to send as much of her Woollen Manufacturies abroad, as could be vendd in Forreign Markets.

4. That whatsoever Countrey can afford their Manufacturies cheapest, must infallibly gain the Trade from that Countrey that cannot work so cheap.

5. That

5. That *Ireland* is able to make many of the same kinds of Woollen Manufactures cheaper than *England*, and therefore will never want a Vent for them in Forreign Markets.

6. That the whole Quantity of such Manufactures which *Ireland* shall supply in Forreign Markets, will hinder the Sale of so much from *England*, and consequently the whole Value thereof will be so much clear Loss to *England*.

7. That whatsoever Number of People shall be employed in this Trade in *Ireland*, the same Number of our Manufacturers must sit still in *England*.

8. That such People to avoid starving at home, will go to *Ireland* for Work, by which Means the Woollen Manufactory in *Ireland* may soon come to be greater than that in *England*, add in time the whole Trade would most probably be Establish'd there, and lost here.

The fatal Consequences that flow from these Promises, are too obvious to need further Illustration here; but the matter will yet appear more plain, when I come to answer the Arguments which have been offer'd against the Bill; To which I proceed;

1st. That the Government of *England* have at several times given Encouragement to the settling a Woollen Manufactory in *Ireland*, and therefore it would be very unreasonable, after they have with great Change and Difficulty brought the same to some Perfection, to destroy it at once, and ruine the Undertakers.

I answer, That (supposing this to be true) former times might not see through all the Inconveniencies that might accrew to *England* by settling a Woollen Manufactory in *Ireland*, or perhaps they intended that encouragement only to capacitate them to make Clothing for themselves, but not to enable them to interfere with *England* in its Forreign Trade; for certainly our Ancestors who prohibited the sending their Wools to Forreign Parts, never intended to enable

ble them to feed the Manufactures made thereof, which would do us a far greater Damage. But as England hath always shown her paternal Care over all her Colonies, in being ready to give them all the Encouragement necessary to their Well Being; so She ought also to Exert her Power in restraining them, when She finds them Enterprizing any thing that may prove Injurious to her self; and in this She is justify'd as well by Reason, as by the Practice of all Nations that have Planted Colonies. As to the Undertakers, the least Compassion possible is due to them, because (as they are thought to be English men) they ought not to have designed their own Interest, so much to the detriment of England; and they may find out ways enough to employ their Stocks, without injuring the Publick.

2. *This 'tis the Interest of England to Encourage the increase of Riches in Ireland, that it may be in the better Condition to contribute to its own Support upon any Exigencies, and unless the Change of England.*

This is a very true Argument, and will run on all four when rightly apply'd; but there is an unhappy Distinction that makes in downright Lame in this Case; for there is a vast Difference between Ireland's gaining wealth, by any way of Industry peculiar to themselves and inoffensive to England; and their encroaching upon that Trade, which is the only way by which England can attract Riches; for 'tis plain that all they shall gain thereby will be a clear Loss to us, and that were better for us to Maintain them in sitting still, than to suffer them to work in such a way as must needs us. This would disable us to give them the necessary Succours in time of need, and they would hereby cut the Root that Supports them. *That by pulling down this Manufactory, the Poor of Ireland will be Destitute of Work, many Families would be Ruin'd,*

Ruined, and an unreasonable Hardship put upon a Country, but
just recovering it self after a Distressing War.

His Answer enough, since this is but the Beginning
of a new Business, to ask how they lived before? But
it is certain, that the Poor of Ireland do submit very
easily; Lands are very Cheap (per-
haps not one * eighth part of the
Value of ours, generally speaking)
and Provisions of all Kinds in
great plenty. A Cow or two of
ten Shillings Price, and a Potatoe
Garden, will Support a Family,

A Gentleman who liv'd
in the County of Kerry, told
me, that for about 13 L.
he had Land enough to keep
30 Head of Black Cattle,
and bread and meat for
his family could spend.

meaning of such as are next to Poverty; but he
that can Rent ten Pound per Annum, may keep
two Dishes of Meat at his Table the Year round; so
that no Body can want a livelihood there, that will
but exert the least Industry; whereas in England, the
Working People are very numerous, Land and Provi-
sions extremely dearer: Many thousands Depend who-
ly on the Manufactures, and cannot live of themselves
when they are not employ'd. This Manufacture, (mean-
ing that for Transportation) is yet but growing in
Ireland, and few Hands (in Comparison to the multi-
tude that live by it in England) are yet employ'd in
it; so that the Disappointment cannot at this time
be great to them; but if we should Suffer it to con-
tinue longer, the great Encouragement will make it
grow so considerably, as that the effects will soon be-
come so visible in England, that necessity will compel
us to put a stop to it, and then the Hardship will
seem so much the more to the People of Ireland; by
how much the greater numbers have brought them-
selves to Depend upon that way of Living. 'Tis
true indeed, that the People of Ireland have endor'd
great Hardships by the War; but it is as certain, that

they have been reestablished in the quiet enjoyment of their Lands and Possessions, at a great Expence of the Blood and Treasure of England; and I believe, if those very Gentlemen of Ireland, that are now so zealous in soliciting against this Bill, had been told, when they were under the extremity of the War, that there would be a necessity upon us, for the securing that Trade from whence we deriv'd our principal Subsistence, and the Capacity to help them in time of need, to Prohibit their Interfering with us in our Woollen Manufactures; they would then have assented to the reasonableness of it, as a Respect justly due to their Protectors.

4. *That the quantities they make are so inconsiderable, as that it cannot hurt England; that there is no Probability of their increasing the Trade to any great Degree, and that a great part of the Workmanship there is so dear, as that they cannot make their Goods much cheaper there than in England.*

Every one knows that the greatest Undertakings proceed from small Beginnings, but that when the first Difficulties are overcome they easily go on, and increase in a much greater Proportion than the first appearance. Before the War, they came in four Years, to export in the last Year 11360 pieces, and since the Reduction of Ireland they are in four Years come to above 4000 pieces, notwithstanding the Hindrances of the War; and it may be remarkt, that they advanced from 2000 and upward in the Year 1695. to above 4000 in 1696. Thus much they acknowledge; and these are not short Steps. They can never want a ready Sale for all they can make, because they Sell cheaper than we; Plenty of Work will attract Plenty of Workmen, these will take as many Apprentices as they can Employ; in seven Years the Apprentices will become Masters, and in three Years more even their Apprentices will become able Workmen; who can doubt but by that time (or a little longer) their increase (with those also that come to them from England) will be enough to Manufacture all the Wools

of Ireland. But I'll suppose for Argument sake, that they make but to the value of One Hundred Thousand Pounds yearly, and that they would not Sell for more than Ten Pounds *per Cent.* cheaper than *England* usually doth: Supposing, also, that *England* sends abroad the value but of one Million yearly, of Goods of the like Kinde; 'twill be easily granted me, that if any one Offers his Goods cheaper than the usual Price, that will then become the Market-Price, and every one else must Sell at the same or Keep his Goods: By this 'tis plain, that *England* must abate 100000 *l.* out of the former value of her Million, for the sake of *Ireland's* 100000 *l.* and then she looses another 100000 *l.* by *Ireland's* taking that Money in the Markets, which *England* should otherwise solely Furnish: So that 'tis clear from this Consideration, if no more were to be said to it: That 'twere more advantageous to *England* by the one half, to Buy these Goods and Throw them into the Sea, than to Suffer *Ireland* to Sell cheaper than we can in Forreign Markets: But the arguing, that Weaving and some other Parts of the Workmanship is as dear as in *England*, is a perfect Fallacy; for besides that, they only Suggest it without Proof, yet if it were so at the first attempting such a Manufactory, that could only be occasioned through the scarcity of Workmen, but would every Year grow cheaper as those Workmen should encrease, and enough is said above, to shew that that will be the Infalible Consequences of an Encouraging Trade; and since I may modestly affirm that Provisions are not (generally speaking) at above half the Price there, to what they are in *England*, and labour holding always in Proportion thereto, 'tis not unreasonable to expect that they will in time come to work at least one third cheaper than we can, and if they should make as much as they can then

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Sell for 200000 *l.*, that will be equal in Quantity to our 300000 *l.* and abate so much out of the Sale of our Million, and then by the Fall in Price, the remaining 700000 *l.* would yield but 466666 *l.* So that 'tis plain, that if *Ireland* gains Riches by this Trade, 'twill be at the Expence of impoverishing *England*. I cannot but Remark here, that the main Body of the Solicitors against this Bill, consisted in Gentlemen, Possessors of Lands in *Ireland*, who though they may be excused from having any nice Understanding in a matter of Trade (as this properly is) yet it seems they have easily learnt, that the flourishing of their new Manufactory, would cause the Lands of *Ireland* to rise, to which without Doubt, 'tis their Interest to have more regard, than to the keeping up the value of the Lands of *England*, which by this Method of inticeing away its Mouths, would certainly Fall in value as fast as those in *Ireland* should rise.

5. That the high Duties payable upon all Woollen Manufactures brought into *England*, amount to a prohibition of the Irish; and that if it were intended that theirs should be brought hither, the Duties ought to be moderated so, as to bear but a just proportion to what they can work cheaper.

I will be so free as to acknowledge, that I beleive the House of Commons intended no less by this Bill, than the suppressing all Exportation of Woollen Manufactures from *Ireland*, and the utter discouraging the Progress of that Trade there; but to lay such a Duty as might at present seem equal to the difference of Workmanship, would utterly defeat that intent: For, as I have noted before, they may soon come to work so much lower than they now do, as that they may be able to bring their Goods into *England* at so small a Duty, and be encourag'd to keep on their Manufactory there, which though by this means it may not so much prejudice our

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Forreign Trade, by beating down the Prices; yet it will have its full effect in taking away the Employment of our Manufacturers, and drawing them into *Ireland*; and, as was truly said by their own Council, would indeed lower the value of the Woollen Goods on the Makers here: Though by the way, I think that could be no argument in their Favour. Moreover, what assurance can we have, but that if they are suffered to make such Goods there, they may ship them for Foreign Parts by stealth, without paying any Duty at all? The Manufacture being of much less bulk than the Wools, which they tell us plainly, will be apt to be sent for *France*, if they be debarr'd from working it up there; though I doubt not but that if our Legislature will exert its Power, it may be smart enough with them to prevent both.

6. *That their Undertaking doth not interfere with the main Branch of our Manufactory; the Cloathing-Trade, but that they do yet continue to buy great Quantities of Cloth from us.*

This indeed is true at present, but when they shall have considerably encreas'd the number of their Workmen, and brought their People into the way of working their Wools, who can doubt but that they will be at that also? their Contest indeed now is only in relation to what we commonly call the New Drapery, consisting of Bays, Serges and Stuffs, which makes up a mighty part of our Exportations, and the Injury they will come to do us therein cannot be less than what I have before noted; to which I might add, that *Ireland* affords us great Quantities of that sort we call long Wool for Combing, of which those Goods are made, and if they shall work it up themselves, the wanting of that Supply will be very sensible to us.

These are the most material Objections against the Bill.

Bill that occur to my Memory, and I hope I have fairly answer'd them: But that I may give a full View of the whole Controversie in its true shape, I will (after the old way of arguing) represent it by a Simile.

A good old Gentleman, Possessor of great Tracts of Land abounding in plenty of all things fit for life, but especially in the greatest Quantity of Sheep of any in his whole Country, happily fell into the way of Manufacturing his Wools, in which he became so successful as to be able to out-do all other People, and furnish all his Neighbours with the greatest part of what they us'd; by which means he was not only capacitated to support a very numerous Family, but also attracted to himself great Riches, and became equal in Power to most of his Neighbours; he had settled his eldest Son in a very considerable part of his Estate at a distance from him, which he had formerly gain'd by Conquest, giving him the full Liberty of enjoying all the Product of an abundant Soyl, only reserving this advantage to himself, that what Wool the Son should have to spare above the Quantity which he should need for the cloathing his own Family, he should be oblig'd to sell to the Father, and not to any other Person, because that would extremely injure him in his Woollen Manufactory Business, which was the main Support of his Estate. The Son liv'd plentifully, and flourish'd greatly, only the ancient Possessors of the Estate (who were a very numerous Family) being compell'd by the Power of the Father to live in subjection under him, were apt to take frequent occasions to give him great disturbance, and by reason of their numbers sometimes prevail'd against him; yet he was always readily assisted by the Father, who never fail'd by the strength of his Parse and Power, to subdue his Enemies, and to resettle him in the quiet Enjoyment of his Estate. The last Insurrection they made

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was by far the greatest, because they were assisted by a very potent Neighbour, and it cost the Father a mighty Sum to quell it. But the Son was no sooner settled in quiet, but he sets his People to work upon making the same kinds of Woollen Manufacturies which was the Father's Trade, and sends them to the same Markets for Sale; the Father is justly offended at this, and foreseeing the great Injury which the Son's going on in such a Trade would prove to him, resolves to put a stop to it; the Son complains mightily against this; alledging, that 'tis unreasonable to deprive him of such means to enrich himself, and that if he be denied this way, 'twould become a Temptation to his Tenants and People to sell the Wools to others; upon which the Father bespeaks him after this manner, Son, Thou knowest well that my Charge and Expence is very great, having many other Children to provide for besides thy self, and that it hath cost me vast Sums to protect thee in the Possession of the Estate which I have given thee, which is sufficient to give thee a very abundant Subsistence without thy interfering with me in my peculiar Trade, which thou seest is the only way I have to gain Wealth, and to enable me to support all my Children, of which thou hast always been the most chargeable to me, and yet thou hast often been ready to make use of the advantages which thy profitable Portion hath given thee to encroach upon me, not only in my Woollen, but also in some other parts of my Trade, which I could not spare thee; and therefore if thou wilt not have a due Sense of my Interest, and consider how much thy own is concern'd in it, assure thy self that I will take that care of my own Affairs, as to use my paternal Power to restrain thee in all such matters of Trade, which I shall find inconsistent with my well-being. And although I shall

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always

always be willing to encourage thee in any thing that tends not to my own hurt ; yet if thou shalt not desist from sending thy Woollen Goods to the Markets, which I have of long time been us'd to furnish, I will by my Authority take from thee all thy Wool combers, and prohibit that any such Trade shall be exercis'd in thy Family for the future, thereby to incapacitate thee from making those Commodities, with which thou canst do me so much hurt : And if thou shalt not be careful to keep thy People from selling their Wool to Strangers, I will send Officers to keep an Exact Registry of all thy Sheep, and secure thy Wool in Ware-houses as it is thorn, that it may not be in thy Power to deal fraudulently by me in an Affair which so nearly concerns me.

I am yet no Enemy to the People of *Ireland*, and with them all the Prosperity that can Consist with the Well Being of *England* : I own 'tis our Interest, that they should grow Rich, but not by such Means as will sooner Impoverish us than Advance them. I believe it would be a useful Policy, and worth the Care of *England*, to Promote any such Manufacturies in *Ireland* as may not Jar with ours, whereby the People there may not only Gain Wealth, but even the multitude of *Irish* be drawn into a more civilized way of Living, which would tame them faster than any Severities we can use ; for a People brought into a settled and profitable way of Living, would soon come to a better Understanding, than to be apt to quit their Ease and Profit at every Call of the Turblent Gentry and their Priests. The Country is every way fit for a Linnen Manufactory, and wants nothing but a Stock to establish it : Private Undertakers are commonly too weak to struggle with the Difficulties that attend the Beginnings of great Undertakings, but the mighty

nigh'y Publick would easily go through with it : It would be Money well employed, if the Government of *England* lent them 100,000 *l.* to establish it, and though we may not be in a Condition to do it at present, yet I hope such a thought may not be forgotten when we can better spare it. The Objection, that our Neighbour Nations of whom we now buy our Linnen would be offended at it, and refuse to take our Manufactures, I take to be a wrong Notion : The Alterations and Charges of Trade are not uncommon, and move by degrees not soon to be observ'd : If we again buy Linnen in *France* as before the War, *Germany* must take less of our Money, yet, as many other Nations deal with them for it, their Trade will go on, and the many distant Countries from whence 'tis brought to the Markets at *Hamburg* and *Bremen*, if they are sensible of some lessening of their Vent, will scarce reflect directly upon the Cause, or if they should, such Resentments are not apt to be of any consequence ; the People must have Woollen Cloaths, and no Body can furnish them with our sorts upon equal Terms with us, if we do but manage our Trade as we are able ; and 'tis evident that People will not easily be diverted from what they have been us'd to and like, witness our continuing in the full use of *French* Goods before the War, when they had as it were prohibited ours. And though this Caution hath been often urg'd in Discourses of Trade, yet I never knew one instance of any Nations being piqued at another to such a degree, as to break off their Commerce ; though I have known several instances of such Occasions given. Some prevailing regard, either to the Benefit of the Customs, the Profit of the Merchants, or the like, is always had ; so that Governments seem to be steer'd by this Principle, That if they cannot Vend in Trade as much as they would, they will yet continue to sell what they can, and acqui-

acquiesce with the Shop-keepers Rule, That Custom is no Inheritance, if they loose one Cheap man, they get another, and measure not their Trade by Particulars, but in the general. I have enlarg'd upon this point even to a Digression, because I was willing to take this Opportunity to offer my Sentiments upon it, for that I have upon divers occasions thought that Argument to have been us'd rather to serve a turn, than for any real Weight there was in it, and that I think we ought not to have any consideration of it, in taking the measures which seem otherwise to be convenient for us.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's extraordinary Understanding in the right Notions of the Trade of *England*, your Readiness at all times to espouse its Interest, and the Condescensions which you have upon some former Occasions shewn, in deigning to receive Information in things of this nature from a Person as inconsiderable as I am, hath given me the Confidence to suggest my Thoughts in this important Business to your Lordship, and I assure my self that your Lordship will have so much regard to the Sincerity of my Intentions, as to excuse the Imperfections of the Performance, and pardon the Boldness of this Address, from

My LORD,

Your Lordships most Obedient,

Humble Servant.

REMARKS

Upon a BOOK, Entitled,

Some Thoughts on the BILL depending, &c.

I Had written the foregoing Papers in the Country, and coming to Town to put them in the Press, I met with a Book, Entitled, *Some Thoughts on a Bill depending before the Honourable House of Lords, &c.* And although I am cut short in time, yet I will bestow a few Remarks upon it; notwithstanding that I think the main points in Controversie, are sufficiently argu'd in the fore-going Discourse. I will acknowledge that the Author hath a pretty insinuating way of Writing and a good turn of Thought, but his Skill seems ill bestow'd upon so wrong a Subject, it looks like fine drawing upon a Thred-bare Coat, the Wool is worn off and the Rent won't be covered.

If the Nobility and Gentry of *Ireland* spend good part of their Estates in *England* tis their own choice, and the Product of their Butter, Leather, Raw-hides, Tallow, &c. which they send to the Neighbouring Countries of *Europe*, and of the vast Quantities of Provisions sent to the Plantations, their Wool, Flax, Skins, &c. to *England* is sufficient, to bear that Expence, and moreover to pay for all the mighty value of Commodities which he says they buy from us; and this is largely prov'd by the current of Exchange between us, a Guinea passes there

there for 26 s. which is near 20 *per Cent.* difference in the *par* of the Money ; but as the *Premio* of the Exchange hath of late been under, that shews that the Ballance of the Trade must be in their Favour. If much of their Trade be carried on by *English* Stocks, yet the People are paid for their Commodities, and the Profit they receive thereby may be Encouragement enough for them, if they can be content when they are well.

His Computation of the great profit they are to *England*, is at random, do we not deserve the utmost profit they can yield ? and all too little in consideration of the vast charge we have been at to protect them in the possession of such mighty Landed Estates which they enjoy.

God be thanked, that the Kingdom of *Ireland* is copiously replenished with *English* Inhabitants, and they are again in a flourishing Condition, notwithstanding the Desolations of the late War ; but to perswade us to encourage the sending of more numbers of People thither than we can well spare, will scarce take with us ; for if their Strengthening that Country would be of advantage to them, their remaining here is much more so to us, and 'tis better for us to have People to spare to send to their Assistance upon Occasion, than for us to need help from them. As for their leaving the Country, if we shall lay difficulties upon them, (as he calls it) or of their joining with any other Interest than that of *England* ; how extravagant is it to imagine, that those People should be so easily picqued into leaving their Settlements there ? when 'tis certain that he that hath 100 l. *per Annum* there, can live more plentifully than upon 300 l. *per Annum* in *England*, and yet his 100 l. *per Annum* would yield him but 1000 l. in Money, and that will buy him but 50 l. *per Annum* in *England*, a fine Exchange : Such another

another 'twould be, to quit the Government of *England* to put themselves under that of *France*, (for no Body else can protect them). But these Thoughts are abominable, and the insinuation is a Crime against, and a most unreasonably Reflection upon the worthy *English* Gentlemen of *Ireland*, for whom 'twould be impossible to degenerate into so much *Irish* Understanding, and so little love to their Mother Country: But 'tis a sufficient indication of a hard cause when Men are put to their Shifts for Arguments, and forc'd to halt them in by the Neck and Shoulders, as hath been this Gentleman's case in almost all he hath us'd.

They are not contending for Power or great Riches, they neither trade to *East-Indies*, *Turky* or *Africa*, they have neither *Hamborough*, *Hudsons Bay*, *Greenland* or *Russia* Company; very fine, and have not the Subjects of *England* been debarr'd from the same Trades, except they would buy Stocks in the Companies? and might not the People of *Ireland* if they had Money to spare, come in upon the same Terms? Let them say no more of this, their Merchants are no way restrain'd more than the People of *England*, they may send Ships from thence to all parts of the World, or concern themselves in any Adventures in Trade with as much freedom as ourselves, they cannot indeed bring some kinds of Merchandize directly for *Ireland* no more can we.

They have no Fleets or Plantations: What Colonys ever had? What an Exclamation follows next? as if they were forbid the Benefit of Earth and Air, and the Liberties allow'd by the Law of Nature, which have never been denied by the greatest Conquerors: Do they not freely enjoy Earth and Air? have they not liberty to send abroad their Native Commodities? May they not Manufacture what they have Occasion for of their own Product? yet because they must not bring their Cattel

Castel or Provisions to *England*, (though they may send as much as they can spare to our Plantations) and undersell the Staple Commodities of *England* in Forreign Markets, they are undone. 'Tis evident that *England* hath been sufficiently put to it to support her Government, and notwithstanding all the Advantages she can raise by her Trade and otherwise, she is involv'd in a very great Debt ; and for her to suffer *Ireland* to ruine the Trade of her Manufactures, would indeed be the ready way to undoe her.

His distinction of Colonies for Trade and Colonies for Empire, is contriv'd on purpose to fit *Ireland* ; but by his good leave, are not all Colonies upon the same foot of keeping the Natives in Subjection, where there are any under their Jurisdiction ? to say nothing of ours on the Continent of *America*, where altho' we treat the *Indians* more civilly than as a conquer'd People, yet there's reason enough to say that we are oblig'd to keep them in Subjection ; the *Dutch* have many Colonies in *India*, where they keep the *Incole* in Subjection, and yet they don't give them Liberty to send their Spices and other natural Product to what Markets they please, but they do restrain their whole Trade to their Mother Country, and not only they, but all other Countries that have had Colonies (since the Encrease and Understanding of Trade) do (as far as I have ever heard) in Fact contradict this Assertion of his, and I beleive *Ireland* hath the greatest Liberty in that respect of any Colony in the World.

He insinuates, that if *Ireland* should be debarr'd from making Woollen Manufactures, yet *England* must not expect to reap the whole Benefit, *Holland*, *Scotland*, *Venice*, *Germany* and *France*, pretend also to the Woollen Manufacture and will vye with us. I say these Countries do not interfere with us any thing considerably in the greatest

greatest part of our sorts of Goods; and if we do but come to so good a management of our Trade as we are capable, we shall be able to maintain it beyond them, and none but *Ireland*, by her having Wools and Work cheaper, can spoil us. But I wonder the Gentleman hath never heard of any Nations besides *Spain* and *Portugal*, with whom *Ireland* hath dealt for Manufactures; it seems as if neither himself, nor those that instructed him, were acquainted with the practice of Trade; for 'tis certain that *Ireland* sends more Woollen Goods to *Holland* and *Flanders*, than to any other Countries.

In all that he says, to cloud the Business of their Working cheaper, he is as ill employ'd as if he were blowing Feathers against the Wind, his Arguments fly back in his Face. 'Tis not worth my while to trace his long Insinuations, I have said enough to that Point in the former Discourse; if he Disputes against Principles, I have done with him: Nothing less can be offer'd in this Case, than to prove, that Provisions are not cheaper in *Ireland* than in *England*; that plenty of Work, and good Pay in one Countrey, will not draw Work-men from a Neighbour Countrey where they are very plenty, and Work is scarce, that those very Work men will never be perswaded to abate of the high Wages which was at first given them, although their Numbers should increase to ever so many, and Provisions be so cheap, that they could live very well at Half Wages. But beyond all, to Clench it, he ought to demonstrate to us plainly, that 'tis not because *Ireland* sells cheaper than *England*, that Merchants leave us, and come to them to buy other Woollen Goods besides their Stockings, Stuffs and Frizes, but 'tis for some pretty charm which they have to attract them, though the incident Charges be a little higher there than here. But who can forbear

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his pretty comparison of the Labour of the Blacks and the Artificers in the *West-Indies*; can the Labour of a Slave bear any proportion but to that of another Slave; but he may be assured that the proportion between the Labour of the common Labourer, that is a Freeman, and the Artificer, is much the same in the *West-Indies* as it is in other Countries.

To tell us of driving away the People from *Ireland* is but a Bugbear, the very profits of the Lands in *Ireland* is Encouragement enough, not only to keep the People that are there, but to draw more to them; and where's a Tradesman to be found in *Ireland*, who after he hath rais'd any Stock to spare, doth not fall to buying or renting Lands, in which they find their Improvements as easie as in other ways?

We need not be scard from making such Laws as we think requisite for restraining *Ireland* in matters of Trade, for fear of their Remissness to execute them, or their smuggling with *France* and *Scotland*, as he suggests; but he might have let that alone, if we can't enforce the Execution of our own Laws, or make what further Laws they may give us occasion, for the keeping *Ireland* in a due Decorum, 'tis our own Faults. And for their agreeing to spend none but their own Manufactures at home; we know they are a very Genteel People, and perhaps can't hold long in so moody a Temper; but if they should, that were a Trifle in comparison, to their spoiling our whole Trade with the rest of the World; neither could they do even that, if we should in a solemn manner tell them and the whole World, that they shall not Manufacture any of their own Product. ('tis his own Words) And his suggesting that we may be as ready to dash the *Linnen* Manufacture, or any other Improvements which they may bring to perfection, is a Reflection which *England* doth not deserve from them, for

for though she must always retain her Authority, to deal with her Colonies in all such matters as her own Prudence shall direct; yet she hath always had an easie Rein upon them, and given such Liberties which ought not to be sleighted to the degree this Gentleman does; and may be a sufficient assurance to them, that so kind a Mother will never put any unnecessary difficulties upon them, but will always promote them in everything that is not unreasonably injurious to her self; especially since 'tis her Interest as well as Delight, to see them flourish under her Care and Protection. His gentle way of destroying their Manufactures by secret Discouragements, and to let it decline by degrees, *etc.* looks more like a Wheedle than a practical Project.

After all I must acknowledge, that the Author hath shewn abundance of Ingenuity in the penning those Papers, and whosoever shall observe how he hath manag'd so bad a Subject to the highest advantage, it was capable of, will believe that in this I don't flatter him; and if he should think fit to employ his Ability in framing some practicable Scheme, for the incorporating *Ireland*, (and if he could take in *Scotland* also) with *England*, so as that the whole Empire might as far as possible, be conjoin'd in one entire Interest, and be steer'd by one United *Grand Council*; I believe his performance therein would be much more agreeable. And when he shall have considered that matter thoroughly, I doubt not but that he may come to be of the same Opinion with me, that even under such an Union, the well-being of the whole could not be conserv'd, without the laying some necessary Restrictions upon the Parts, according to his own Instance of *Kent* and *Sussex*, where he acknowledges that 'tis the Interest of the whole Kingdom besides, to prohibit their Wool from going to *France*.

To Conclude, as this Gentleman hath given us this Definition and Distinction of Colonies, I'll take the Freedom to offer my Opinion, under what predicaments all Colonies whatsoever, without any distinction, are to be considered; which if it may be admitted, will perpetually determine this Controversie in the Judgment of all reasonable Men.

First, That the planting of all Colonies is by permission, and in subservience to the Conveniencies of the Mother Country.

Secondly, That all the free Planters go by their own Consent, and must be subject to the Conditions of their Settlement, as long as they remain in the Colony, but that themselves or their Posterity may return at their pleasure, and enjoy all the Priviledges of their Native Country.

Thirdly, That for their Encouragement, Lands and Priviledges are granted them upon very easie terms, whereby they may be enabled to subsist more comfortably than their Circumstances could admit them in their own Country.

Fourthly, That their proper Business is to cultivate the Lands, and raise the Product which that Country will yield.

Fifthly, That no permission is granted them for Foreign Trade, but such as their Mother Country shall from time to time see fit, because as the Care and Charge of protecting them in the Enjoyment of their Possessions, is always incumbent upon her, 'tis not reasonable that she should divest her self from the Priviledge of reaping such advantages by them therein, as their Condition can afford.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, That they may never look upon themselves to be out of the Power of the Legislature of their Mother Country, but that they ought to pay an entire Obedience to all such Laws as she shall make respecting them.

'Tis for want of these Considerations, that Men take the Liberty to argue so passionately (not to say indecently) upon the Case now depending; but if it will not be granted, that it must always be of the Essence of a Colony, to be under such Regulations, I see no room to distinguish between the Mother Country and its Colony, which were absurd to think. And since I see they are so apt to be forgetful of their Duty upon all such Occasions, I could wish our Government would think fit, *In perpetuam rei memoriam*, to ordain, that an Inscription of the purport following, should be always set up in the Parliament-House in Ireland, and in the Houses of Assembly in all our other Colonies, to be read the first thing every Day of their Sessions:

Let us always remember, that this Island (or Province) is a Colony; that England is our Mother Country; that we are ever to expect Protection from her in the Possession of our Lands; which we are to cultivate and improve for our own Subsistence and Advantage, but not to Trade to or with any other Nation without her Permission; and that 'tis our incumbent Duty to pay Obedience to all such Laws as she shall Enact concerning us.

FINIS.